

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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“ With respect to his (Mr. ADDINGTON’S)
 “ *tax upon the funds*, I disagree with Mr.
 “ PITT, who does not seem to think this tax
 “ necessary, and who expresses his hopes that
 “ Parliament will not overturn that edifice
 “ which it has erected with so much pains.
 “ Alas! Mr. PITT well knows, that this edifice
 “ must be his sepulchral monument, or that
 “ there will not be a stone to tell where he
 “ lies. He, therefore, does not look on the
 “ tax upon the funds as necessary to the *sal-*
 “ *vation of the state*; whereas, I regard the
 “ *destruction of the monarchy* as certain, un-
 “ less the funded Debt be annihilated; and
 “ this cannot, as far as I am able to perceive,
 “ be conveniently and effectually done, except
 “ by a tax, a direct and unequivocal tax upon
 “ the funds; or, in other words, a deduction
 “ from the interest due to individuals from
 “ the capital stock. I hear a terrible outcry
 “ excited by this opinion; but I despise this
 “ sort of clamour and abuse. I am fully per-
 “ suaded that my opinion is correct. It is the
 “ result of long thinking upon the subject,
 “ and has now been communicated to my
 “ readers, not from any factious or party mo-
 “ tive; but from a desire gradually to prepare
 “ them for an event, which, if it came upon
 “ the country all at once, and totally unex-
 “ pected, might be productive of infinite mis-
 “ chief.”—*Register*, Vol. IV. page 9, date 16.
 July, 1803.

“ Be the miseries, however, arising from
 “ this source (a reduction of interest) what
 “ they may, they *certainly are inevitable*; for,
 “ if the Debt be not, somehow or other, anni-
 “ hilated, the people must be ruined and en-
 “ slaved, and then the annihilation of the
 “ Debt comes of course. Horrid, therefore,
 “ as the sound of national bankruptcy is to
 “ the ears of the selfish and the foolish, it
 “ must be borne; and their only alternative
 “ is, bankruptcy and freedom, or bankruptcy
 “ and slavery.”—*Register*, Vol. III., page
 924, date 18. June, 1803.

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TO
 LORD ALTHORP.

Normandy Farm, 27. Aug., 1834.

MY LORD,

SOCIETY like
 the
 first
 published in this same everlasting *Re-*
gister, will exclaim, “ I wish to God,
 “ that that COBBETT had the gout in his
 “ fingers.” If I had had the gout in
 my fingers, or any where else, I would
 have taken care of one thing, at any
 rate, and that is, that that stupid and
 blundering fellow should not have been
 my doctor. To you, my lord, I address
 myself as to a person of great under-
 standing, and as being in all respects
 the reverse of that HENRY ADDINGTON;
 and the subject on which I am now
 about to address you, connects the pre-
 sent day with the day more than thirty-
 one years ago, since the above motto
 was written and published; which sub-
 ject is that of your present financial
 prospects, particularly as connected with
 the currency of the kingdom.

My lord, people call me, “ *vindic-*
tive”; that is to say, just, inflicting, to
 the utmost of my power, due punish-
 ment on those who do wrong to me, or
 who manifestly intend me wrong; or
 who act in the same way towards other
 persons whom I deem it my duty to
 endeavour to defend, or to avenge. Dr.
 JOHNSON very often gave a wrong inter-
 pretation to the meaning of words. He
 traces “ *vindictive*” to “ *vindicate*,”
 which means to justify, to uphold, or to
 avenge, in an amiable sense of that
 word, therefore, a vindictive man, means
 a man who justifies, who upholds, who
 avenges; and what was so common as
 to hear Lord GREY, above all men, talk
 of “ *vindicating the law*”; and yet no-
 body thought proper to call him a vin-
 dictive man, in a bad sense of the word;
 notwithstanding his *vigorous* works in
 Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire.
 I am vindictive, in the true sense of the

K

word; and it is necessary that men should be so; for if there were none such tyrants would always live in perfect safety. For my part I hate a tame wretch, who seeks safety in passive obedience and non-resistance; and, if I could, I would have every such wretch flogged, till I flogged some spirit into him, or all the blood out of him.

This preface I thought necessary previous to what I am now going to say. Your lordship will hardly have forgotten the scene in the House of Commons, on the 16. of May, 1833, when I proposed a resolution relative to Sir ROBERT PEEL: and, if you forget the part that you acted in the scene, I do not. In pursuance of the principle which I have laid down relative to vindictiveness; that is to say, a disposition to perform acts of justice on those who do wrong to one's self, or one's neighbour, I will here publish, for the second time, the whole of that resolution; and then I will call the attention of your lordship to certain parts of it; and this is the way, and the only way, in which I shall perform the act of justice demanded in this case.

RESOLVED: 1. That, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, the King our Sovereign Lord can do no wrong to the whole, to any part, or to any one, of his subjects; that, however, effectually to guard against wrong being, in his Majesty's name and under his authority, done to his subjects with impunity, the same laws and customs, which have, as our birth-right, descended to us from our just and wise forefathers, make all and every one, acting in that name and under that authority, fully and really responsible to the good people of this kingdom, for every wrong done unto them by any and every person invested with such authority, and that in virtue of such responsibility, the wrong-doing party is subject to such censures, pains, and penalties, as in virtue of the said laws and customs, the several tribunals of the kingdom have, in all ages, been wont to inflict; that, if this respon-

sibility were not real and practical, we should be living under not only a despotism, but an avowed despotism, for the King being incapable of wrong-doing, and his servants being responsible merely in name and form, and not in practice, they also could do no wrong, and then the people of this renowned kingdom, the cradle of true liberty, would be the most wretched slaves ever yet heard of under the sun; that, in cases where the wrong-doing is committed by inferior functionaries, or is, in its effects, confined to individuals, or to small numbers of sufferers, the ordinary courts of justice have usually been deemed competent to afford redress to the injured; but, that, when the wrong is the act of a Minister of State, sworn to advise the King for the good of his people, when that Minister of State receives as a reward for his fidelity and skill large sums of the people's money, and when the wrong by him done is, in its effects, so deeply and so generally mischievous, as to send ruin and misery to sweep over the kingdom like the pestilence, then there is, for the purpose of yielding justice to the suffering millions, no power competent but that which is possessed by their faithful representatives assembled in this House.

2. That in the year 1819, there had long been and then was, in virtue of divers acts of Parliament theretofore passed, a paper-money, in circulation throughout this kingdom, which paper-money was, in effect, a legal tender in payment of all private debts, as well as in the payment of taxes; that this paper-money, descending so low as to notes of one-pound, had been the almost only circulating money of the country, from the month of February, 1797, that is to say, for the space of twenty-one years; that this paper-money soon became depreciated to so great an extent, that the prices of commodities had, during the said twenty-one

years, risen, on an average of years and of commodities, to about double the amount of the prices at which the same commodities were usually sold before the issue of the said legal-tender paper-money; that the depreciation of the money was so notorious and so amply avowed in Parliament, that divers acts were passed, during the said twenty-one years, to raise the allowances to the royal family, the salaries of the judges, of the police-magistrates, of the army, of the navy, and of almost every one in public employ, for the purpose of counteracting the effect of this very great depreciation; that, during the said twenty-one years next preceding 1819, all mortgages, rent-charges, leases, settlements, annuities, bonds, and other contracts for time, together with all wills and testaments, had been agreed on, settled, and made, on the basis of this depreciated money: and that, during the said twenty-one years, about *five hundred millions of the public debt* had been contracted in the said depreciated paper-money; that, therefore, to pass an act compelling the debtor parties to make good these contracts for time, to the very letter, in sterling gold, must be, in fact, an act of confiscation against, and a sentence of ruin pronounced upon, these parties; while, with regard to the people at large, such act must, in reality, nearly double the amount of the public debt, nearly double the amount of all the above-mentioned augmented salaries and public pay, and of course nearly double the real amount of the taxes.

3. That, notwithstanding these premises and conclusions, so indubitably true, and so clear to the understanding of every man of common sense, the Right Honourable Robert Peel, then one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, did, in the said year 1819, bring into the then House of Commons,

and procure to be passed by that House, a Bill to put an end to the legal-tender paper-money, which Bill, unaccompanied as it was with any measure for the revision and rectifying of private contracts, and for the adjustment of public engagements, was a bill inevitably tending to produce that injustice, that confiscation, and that ruin, hereinbefore described.

4. That this Act, which received the royal assent on the 2. July, 1819, though it provided for what was called the gradual resumption of gold payments, began at once to plunge the whole community into pecuniary confusion; that the prices of all commodities, and of all property, moveable or immoveable, began instantly to fall prodigiously in price; that mortgaged estates were, in thousands upon thousands of instances, taken from the owners and sold, in many cases, for less than the amount of the mortgages; that, in other cases, fixed charges upon estates swallowed up the whole of the rental; while, with regard to leases, bonds, annuities, and other contracts for time, and, above all things, with regard to property dropping in to be disposed of by will, the demon of injustice seemed to have been, by this destructive act, let loose upon the kingdom, setting landlords and tenants, creditors and debtors, brothers and sisters, parents and children, to tear each other to pieces, bringing down hundreds of thousands of families from a state of competence and ease, and many from a state of opulence, to a state of utter ruin and beggary, while all those who were living on the taxes, and who were, in fact, receiving double pay, were rolling in wealth, and lording it over the rest of the community; and that of all these dreadful effects of such a measure the said Right Honourable Robert Peel had been duly warned even before he brought in the said fatal bill.

5. That by the said act gold payments were to be completely resumed, and the one-pound notes were to be wholly abolished, in the month of May, 1823; but, that so terrible were the effects of the aforesaid act, such were the ruin and misery that it had produced, that on the 22^d July, 1822, another act was, by the then living of his Majesty (of whom the said Right Honourable Robert Peel was one) brought into the then House of Commons, and was afterwards passed into a law, postponing the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years longer; that an important part of the act of 1819 was thus repealed; that an acknowledgment was thus virtually made by an act of the House itself; that it had, principally by the said Right Honourable Robert Peel, been induced to act unwisely, and to do great wrong to the people by the said act of 1819.

6. That, if the act of 1822 had been wise, if it had put a stop to the wrong done and still doing by the act of 1819, it came very tardily, it waited till prodigious ruin had been effected; but that this act of 1822, while it postponed the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years, left the gold payment part of the act of 1819 in full force: so that, while the issuers of paper-money were thus invited and encouraged to inundate the country with one-pound notes, they and the holders of their notes were left exposed to constant, and, first or last, certain ruin; that this ruin (of which the said Right Honourable Robert Peel and his colleagues were duly warned) was not slow in making its appearance; that, towards the close of the year 1825, the bubble, thus created by the law itself, began to burst, and that, before the end of January, 1826, a hundred banks had stopped, not having gold wherewith to pay their notes, the whole kingdom being thereby plunged into alarm

and confusion, thousands upon thousands of families (descending to the very artizans and labourers) being brought down to beggary; and, such being the state into which the country had been brought, that the Ministers themselves declared, in Parliament, that at one time the country had been brought to such a state, that it was almost impossible to get it out of that state; that it was in a state of utter confusion and anarchy.

7. That, with all this sad experience of the effects of his measures, the said Right Honourable Robert Peel (still one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and then become one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State) gave his sanction to a bill (which became an act on the 22^d March, 1826) for again abolishing the one-pound notes at the end of three years, notwithstanding the postponement of such abolition, provided for in the act of 1822; that, by this act of 1826, the nation was again plunged back into the low prices, and in effect double taxes, produced by the unjust act of 1819; that the ruin and misery of all the industrious classes, and the wealth and luxury of those who live on the taxes have gone on increasing from that day to this; and that at this moment there appears to be no human being able to discover any quiet way of extricating the kingdom from its present state of unparalleled difficulty and danger.

Now, I beg your lordship to look at the seventh paragraph of this resolution; then to recollect, that you made a motion, which you carried with uproarious acclamation, to prevent this resolution from being entered upon the minutes of the proceedings; and that the Speaker, after observing that the resolution was already on the minutes, *amended your motion himself*, and made it propose to expunge the resolution from the minutes! Thus was a motion made, *without notice*, and thus was it amended by the Speaker,

without any vote, or any assent of the House. This was what I call rough work; home-spun; and this is the manner in which I avenge it; that is to say, do justice with regard to it.

The resolution was expunged from the minutes of the proceedings of the House; but it was put upon record in *Register*, volume 80, page 387, where I verily believe it will live, and be read; live longer, and be read oftener, than it would have been, if it had been left on the journals of this famously reformed House of Commons.

Now, then, this act of justice being performed, I will throw it aside, as a hop-picker does his tally, when the hopping is over. I will refer to the resolution as to a document containing an expression of opinions which I had always held, and which I still hold: and can your lordship look at paragraph seven, and particularly at the close of it, without seeing how it applies to the situation in which we are all placed, and particularly to the situation in which you yourself are placed? I know nothing of the truth or the falsehood of the rumours which are afloat relative to the approach of an issue of one-pound notes, and a proclamation of legal tender. I do not think that it is necessary for me to offer any opinion as to what course you will pursue; but this I know to a certainty, that you cannot proceed much further in your present course. You cannot much longer sacrifice all the industrious classes to the swarms of usurers, pensioners, sinecure-people, dead-weight people, bayonet-men, and the rest of those who live upon the labour of others. I know to a certainty, that you cannot do this much longer; and the probability is, that you will have one more try at the paper-money; and I should not at all wonder if you were to adopt, at full length, the proposition of the honourable Member for Birmingham, who has been almost hooted out of the House for making that proposition. Shame, on the part of Ministers of state, has long since ceased to exist; but one would think that this was rather too much for faces actually cased over with brass.

I do not know that I ever experienced pleasure quite so great, as a politician, as I did when I read the first declaration of Mr. President Jackson relative to the paper-money. I then saw, and I told your lordship then, that I did see, that the United States would in all likelihood come to real money; and that, if they did, we must draw in our paper to an immense extent; or become open and most impudent bankrupts, and see our hectoring, lordly, insolent, and brutal bank-directors kicked and cuffed about the streets like the rest of the scum of mankind, to which they of right belong. I told your lordship then, that America must, and would, have her share of the gold of the world; that her share was a very large one; that she would draw a due proportion from all the nations of Europe; that she would draw from us, in proportion to our share, which was also a very large one; that the other nations of Europe must come nearer to gold, too, or be totally ruined; and that we must come back to the base and fraudulent one-pound notes; or must bring down the price of wheat to five or four shillings a bushel, or, perhaps, to three-and-sixpence, which must bring you to my equitable adjustment; or to a blowing-up of this whole system of government.

And, my lord, how does the thing stand now? Is there a man in his senses in this whole kingdom, who believes that you can collect fifty-two millions of sovereigns in taxes, every year, with wheat at four shillings a bushel, imperial measure, as the jack-asses call it; and as pigs or geese would have too much sense to call it, too much sense of shame. Is there a man in his senses who believes that you can collect fifty-two millions of taxes, in gold, with wheat at four shillings a bushel? You may have your and Brougham's big workhouses; you may have three hundred thousand, instead of one hundred thousand, bayonets; you may have your Bourbon-police spying into every village of the kingdom; but you cannot make the people pay fifty-two millions of sovereigns in a year, with wheat at four shillings a bushel.

There is not one farmer out of ten, at this time, who is in a state of solvency. I hear this from all quarters. My own observation and knowledge relative to the facts; that which I hear from persons who must know; that which I gather from the reason of the case itself; all concur in convincing me of the truth of that which I state relative to the wretched state of the farmers; and it is to them, after all, that we are to look when we are seeking for a criterion whereby to judge of the state of the country. It is a country plunged into difficulty, distress, ruin, and misery, by bands of usurers, fostered by a system of usury more extended and more complete than any that ever before existed in the world. To these bands of usurers are added swarms of insolent devourers who live in idleness on the fruit of the labour of the industrious. The hand of industry is slackened and discouraged at every motion; and nothing thrives, nothing is prosperous, but fraud and idleness.

But it is impossible to carry this system further. You cannot take more than you now take from the labouring man, and give it to the whiskered, insolent, and lazy fellow. Your lordship was complimented on your "*moral courage*," when you were persisting in the bastardy clauses of your Poor-law Bill; and it did require a good deal of *moral courage*; but you have not the moral courage to face the bands of usurers and idlers; nor have you the moral courage to face the *canters* of any description; and I should not wonder to hear you singing out "*NATIONAL FAITH FOR EVER*," while your lancers were escorting whole parishes of farmers to your and BROUGHAM's poor-houses. To this pass, however, you cannot bring it. It is beyond your power, and all the power that can be mustered together, to uphold this form of government with things brought to this pass.

This is your situation. How are you to get out of it? for, go down to wheat at four shillings a bushel you cannot, even with a gallows at every corner of a street, and in every hamlet, and with a brace of Brougham's and your work-

houses in every county, guarded by a redoubt. I know how you could get out of it, and how you ought to get out of it. You ought to repeal STURGES BOURNE's Bills; you ought to repeal your FRANKLAND LEWIS Poor-law Bill; you ought to repeal old ELLENBOROUGH's Act, *improved* by LANSDOWNE; you ought to repeal the Six Acts, which you yourself opposed; you ought to repeal PERL's new felony laws, and new trespass laws; you ought to repeal the law for enabling justices of the peace to transport men for poaching; and you ought to make an equitable adjustment as to all debts, and particularly the debt called the public debt. All this you ought to do; and none of this you will do; though it will *all be done*, and good luck it will be to you and your order, if nothing else be done along with it; great good luck, my lord, if delaying to extirpate the weeds does not end with an extirpation of both weeds and corn!

But something you must do; and I can see nothing that you can do, except giving us *one-pounders* and *legal tender*; and that I think it is very likely that you will do; and, in that case, I think I may have a chance of proposing a resolution that will be suffered to remain on the minutes. With regard to this measure there is but one difficulty in the way, and that I will mention by-and-by. The farmers are for it; the landlords are for it; the tradesmen are for it. The rascally usurers and the insolent idlers have, by this time, sense enough to perceive that it would be injurious to them; sense enough to perceive, that it is better for them to get a quartern loaf for sixpence, than to be obliged to give half-a-crown for it, their income being always of the same nominal amount: but, greedy and insolent as they are, they perceive that it is possible for them, at last, *to get nothing at all*, if you adhere to the hard-money; if you, taking the station of JACKSON, and having his nick-name given to you, be resolved to become the toast of the Cobbettites, in the words, "*HICKORY, HOMESPUN, AND HARD-MONEY*." The lazy-bone crew; that insolent crew, and the down-look-

ing and base usurers have not lived all this time without knowing, that, if you still cling to hard-money, it is just possible that they may get none of it; and I can assure them that it is just as certain as it is that they ought to be compelled to work for their bread, or starve, men and women, too.

Therefore, even these wretches; these drones of the Change; these wasps of *Trafalgar-place*, and *Pall Mall East*, who have waiters in silk-stockings, and panes of glass to look through, costing five pounds a piece; even these hordes of devourers would, considering all things, like the one-pounders and legal-tender. It would go hard with your platoons of commissioners. *Pis-aller PARKES* and *ROARING RUSHTON*, and the bands of mares'-tail poor-law-runners, would not stomach it, to come from the sirloin of the ox down to the sticking-piece of the cheek; and they would so come down; and I should see them eating in those houses where the knives and forks are chained to the table, and where a great rough dog is kept for them to wipe their hands in, and their mouths, too. It would be devilish work, to be sure; to see your commissioners for poor-law reform, and corporate-reform, and charity-reform, and common law-reform, and church reform, Irish and English: it would be a sorrowful thing, my lord, in the eyes of some persons to see these, and *SENIOR*, and all the rest of the Scotch *feelosofizing* tribe, who, though they recommend a "coarser food" for the working people of England, have, like *JEREMY* in the play, "a taste" for better things destined to go down their own throats at the expense of those who do the work; to some eyes it would be a sorrowful sight to behold all these stuffing away upon a sticking-piece, and rattling the chains afore-mentioned: to me it would be the most agreeable sight in the world, and this sight, or something approaching towards it, *must take place*, in one way or another, or there must be a general and dreadful convulsion in this country.

Now, my lord, these men see this clearly enough; and though they know

very well, that the one-pounders must bring them to *this*, they also know that hard-money may bring them to a *want even of this*, and which it certainly would bring them to. There is not a man of them, who, if set at employment for which his capacity fits him, is able to earn as much as would supply him with a meal, even at an *auberge*; or, rather, a *place à manger*. This they know; for there is no so cunning a creature; none so sharp-sighted, as he that is living upon what he knows he ought not to have. No eyes, no ears, are so sharp as those of animals engaged in furtive pursuits. Look at a hog, or a cow, or a sheep, that has broken into some place, and is eating what it ought not to be eating. You will see them swallowing away, but every now and then lifting up their heads and looking about and listening. Let them but hear your approach, or think they hear the sound of any voice, and back they scamper to the gap where they got in; and, if you have a stick in your hand, the cunning devil of a pig begins to squeak, by way of anticipation, the moment he sees you. It would be hard, indeed, my lord, if your poor-law commissioners, and corporate reform commissioners, and church reform commissioners, had not instinct equal to these four-legged commissioners, I might call them. Hard, indeed; but they have: they perceive the dilemma; aye, and while they are sitting, drinking your and *BROUGHAM'S* health, over their champagne and pine-apples, and collecting each other's ideas, relative to the sort of "coarser food," to which the working people of England ought to be reduced; if a chopstick were to bounce in amongst them with a hedge-stake in his hand, they would scamper off, and, like the pig in the corn-field, squeak as they ran.

Therefore, my lord (and this is the very consummation), even these men would approve of the one-pound notes and legal tender; because they would naturally say, it is bad, very bad, to come to the imprisoned knives and forks: very bad to wash down the bullock's liver with *dippings up*, quite as good as any to be found in the richest horse-pond in

England, and of as deep a colour; very bad, to come from the wash-hand basin and the rose-water, and the damask towel, to the hair of the rough newfoundland dog: all this is very bad; but to have *no bullock's liver*; to have *no dippings up*, without being compelled to work, is a great deal worse; and therefore, let us have the one-pound notes and legal tender. We may have these by selling matches, by some prowling, canting life, without being compelled to sweat. That sweat is the devil: therefore, let us have the one-pound notes and legal tender.

So that, my lord, you will have all the world with you, except the gentlemen who carry bayonets, who never reason upon any proposition, the tendency of which is, to deduct from their daily quantity of meat, bread, beer, and gin. They will be told that a *pound is a pound*. But when the landlord told them that the paper pounds were not worth so much as the golden pounds, they would begin to say that there was something wrong. So that here would be a difficulty I confess, and I dare say you see it. However, this might be got over. But there would be another difficulty which you could not overcome; and that is, to disguise from this long-abused nation; to shut the eyes of this long hood-winked people; so to cajole them, so to bebother them, and bewilder them, as for them not to see, and not to say, and not to roar it out from one end of the kingdom to the other, that here was now the fulfilment of all COBBETT'S prophecies; that here was at last the full and complete proof of his having been always right for thirty-four years; that he who never took in any shape whatsoever one farthing of the public money, either by himself or by any one belonging to him, had been right all this time, while all the successive ministries during that time pocketed millions and millions of the public money as payment for their services; here will be this fact; and here shall I be with tongue to proclaim it throughout this kingdom, and with pen to send it to the ends of the earth.

Shameful as is the thought; scan-

dalous as it is, I do verily believe, that this will be deemed the greatest of all the difficulties. I have often said, and I say it now again, that this long train of ruinous measures with regard to the money, has had for its principal cause, a dread of hearing the nation say, that I had been proved to have been right. It has been a war between me and this Government. Better have made peace with me twenty years ago, better have *let me alone*, at any rate. But the pride and insolence of brutal ignorance would not permit this. Better have made an apology to me, and given me back my thousand pounds after 1812. Very curious; but I have heard within these fifteen years, and from *undoubted authority*, that Lord MORRA proposed to the Big Sovereign to let me out of prison, when he came to his full power as Regent, and to remit the thousand pounds and the bail. He would not do it. Better even for him, if he had. But power is never wise, when it enters on a contest with those whom it deems to be weak. It always proceeds upon the presumption that the victim can never take vengeance, can never do justice on the unjust. I hope it will be said of me, that no powerful man ever did me wrong, without my inflicting vengeance on him to the utmost of my power.

Your lordship sees, that so early as June, 1803, I began to predict that this nation must be brought to ruin, and convulsion, and revolution, if this system of "*national faith*" and of squandering were persevered in. Every word written at that day applies at the present moment. I was, as I there say, actuated by no party or factious motive: I never was; and I am not now, any more than I was then. I never in my life did that which ought to offend any nobleman or person in authority, civil or clerical, unless I had been ill-treated by that person. I never showed any mark of disrespect to any person of rank or station. I never was amongst those who ridiculed titles of nobility, and laughed at the idea of hereditary wisdom and hereditary virtue; not because I thought persons in that station wiser or better

than myself, or than men in general; but because long experience had shown to this nation, that the greatest degree of freedom and of happiness, of which communities are capable, had been enjoyed, and for centuries, too, under a government, in which hereditary honours and hereditary rights formed so large a part. My bearing; that is to say, my personal deportment, towards men of rank and station, has invariably been marked by that deference which is their due, and which we must regard as their due, if we mean to support this form of government. I have never, in the whole course of my life, given in to any gross familiarity, even in speaking of persons of high rank, except, indeed, with the *pen*, and when they have committed an offence against me, or against those, whom it is my duty to defend. In short, I have truly and sincerely been content to be in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call me. I was born and bred a farmer, or a sort of labourer; and I have never desired to have any rank, station, or name, or calling, more or other than that of a farmer. Lord GREY made it a merit to profess a resolution to stand by his order. As far as was just, it was a merit; but then, nobody can blame me for standing by my order.

Now all this being undeniably true, one would wonder why it is that the antipathy of this aristocracy to me should be so great as to induce them to do that which must inflict ruin on themselves, because, and only because, the doing that which would have been wise would have proclaimed to the nation that I was a person of great knowledge and great good sense. Ah! they knew that I wanted nothing for myself, but they knew that I wanted to take from them the power of oppressing and pillaging the order to which I belonged; admire my industry, my perseverance, my wonderful exertions, my clear sightedness; but there was at the bottom, to balance against all these, my strong and implacable hatred of oppression of all sorts; and particularly the partiality of taxation; the stripping of the working people of their earnings, and the heap-

ing of those earnings upon idlers. This has been the constant ground of their hostility to me; and I must say, that I trust in God that I shall so conduct myself as to cause the hostility to continue until the last hour of my life.

The question is, whether my advice be now to be followed, or whether this whole concern is to go to atoms; for I hope that your lordship is too wise to imagine, that the one-pounders and legal tender will prevent a convulsion. They will form a measure the most popular that Minister ever adopted; but, for all that, it will keep off the convulsion for a very short time. It will not retard the END more than a year or two at the most; those will be years approaching very nearly to something worthy of the name of confusion. However, no man can tell exactly when or how this thing is to end. End how it will, or when it will, it will reflect honour on me, and shame on those who have so often endeavoured to destroy me.

I shall conclude this letter with reminding your lordship of the conduct of this Government and Parliament, in the case of Peel's Bill, which, coming unaccompanied with measures of adjustment, has been the cause of all these miseries to the people, and of all the difficulties in which your lordship is now involved.

In 1818, TIERNEY made a speech in the House of Commons, in the month of May, urging the then Ministers to cause the Bank to return to payments in gold. To do this "*by degrees*," indeed; but to do it, without proposing at the same time to reduce the interest of the debt, and of contracts between man and man. In the month of July, of that year, I, being in exile in Long Island, to avoid the dungeons of SIDMOUTH and CASTLE-REAGH, wrote and published a letter to this pensioner, TIERNEY, which letter was published in London, in September, of that year, and about twenty or thirty thousand copies of it were sold. In that letter I proved, in the most clear and familiar manner, that the return to gold payments must be dreadfully ruinous to the nation. I showed, so clearly, that a

child of ten years old might have understood it, that such a measure must inflict injustice and cruelty enormous. In short, I stated the consequences of such a measure as truly, and as plainly, as those consequences could now be stated with all the facts before us. With this letter in your hands (for you must have read it), you proceeded to pass that fatal bill, just as it had been recommended by TIERNEY, who, indeed, at the passing of it, claimed the honour of being its father; and that old hack was your opposition "*leader*" at the time. Better for you, if you had had me for a *leader*, much as your high stomachs may revolt at the thought.

Now, can any thing be said in defence of a Government, or of the system of a Government, that inflicts such enormous ruin on a whole people, and in the teeth of such a warning. Ah! but *why* were you to believe, that I knew better than any of you what would be the consequences? *Why!* because you ought to have known that I had more knowledge and more sense than you, all of you put together. *Why*, indeed! Because I was right and you were wrong. What ground will there ever be for charging persons with wilful obstinacy and perverseness, if they are to plead want of belief in those who give them advice, and who warn them of their danger! What! as I have often put the case, suppose my carter going across the down in the night, and not being sure of his way, and there being no track of wheels to guide him, is told by some man, no matter who: "Stop, don't go down there; there's a chalk-pit down there"; and suppose the obstinate brute to answer: "How the devil should you know"; and then go on, giving his horses a cut to show his contempt of the adviser, and happening to have a blind horse before, though of lively motion, to send headlong down the pit, horses, wagon, and all, taking care to *keep behind himself*. Suppose all this, would your lordship say, that this vagabond was to escape punishment, if I discovered that he had been warned of the danger? Certainly, as a magistrate, you would not say so.

A lawyer would tell me to bring an action against the ruffian; but having nothing wherewith to satisfy the action, I should take him to the magistrate, who would commit him to jail for three months, and make him serve me another three months for the loss of his time in jail, if he were a servant in husbandry. This is *reason* and *justice*. And is neither reason nor justice to prevail, in the case of those who have inflicted this mighty wrong on the English nation?

This brutally obstinate carter might say: "It was very dark: I saw nothing of the chalk-pit; and I did not know any thing of the fellow that told me there was a chalk-pit: how was I to know that he was telling me the truth"; to which you, as a magistrate, would answer: "Ah! you rascal; but the darkness of the night; the untrodden down; the uncertainty in which you were; these ought to have made you doubly cautious, especially when you knew that there was at stake a wagon and a whole team of fine horses: and, though you did not know any thing of the fellow that told you about the chalk-pit, you might have stopped the team, you rascal, and have gone forward, looked about you, or you might have stayed till daylight; instead of all which, you drove forward the team to be destroyed, while you stay behind yourself, and save your own worthless carcase."

My lord, if there be no responsibility for this mighty wrong; if there be no *punishment*, of any sort, inflicted on any one for doing this most enormous wrong to the nation, the word responsibility is a mockery, and we live under a government that gives us no redress for wrong. I have talked of the warning; I have talked of this letter to TIERNEY; many boys have become young men since I re-published it the last time; and, therefore, I now re-publish it again. And, if your lordship were to read it again, if it did you no good, I am sure it would do you no harm. The passing of PEARL'S Bill ought never to be spoken of without speaking of this *warning* at the same time. When we have the one-pound

notes and the legal tender, we will rip all the whole story up again, till we get it through into the thickest skull in the country.

I am,
Your lordship's
most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE COBBETTITES.

MANY have called at BOLT-COURT to obtain information relative to the putting up of the GRIDIRON. It is at a friend's at KENSINGTON. If Lord ALTHORP leaves us enough gold in the country, it shall be gilt, decorated with laurel, fixed firmly in a stout wagon with four horses, and thus carried, slow march to BOLT-COURT, and there fixed up on the front of the house; and there it shall remain till a sovereign in gold will sell for twenty one-pound notes; and then as soon as we have hoisted the *gridiron* we will have a dinner, at which we will laugh to scorn all the stupid and malignant beasts that have been abusing me for so many years. I had a right to put up the *gridiron* long and long ago, my prophecy having been fulfilled; but I thought I would stop till the finishing stroke came; and now we shall pretty soon have it in one way or another.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THE Nineteenth Number will be published on the First of September, and that is the last but one. In this history will be seen all the more immediate causes of our present situation. I am very much pleased that I have done it. I know that I have done it truly, and I think that I have done it well. All young men that can read should read it; and then they will never be led along in blindness as their fathers have been.

For the information of friends in IRELAND, I think it necessary to say, that it is my intention, if not delayed by the road, to be in DUBLIN in the first, or early in the second week of September. I am very anxious to see with my own eyes, how it happens that a people, whose land and whose labour feed so large a part of several other nations, should have nothing to eat themselves, other than those things which four-legged creatures live upon; and see this, I now will. I do not like to be talking about a country that I have not seen. I should have gone to Ireland in the September of last year; but it pleased Providence to give me other "fish to fry"; and the cookery lasted too long for me to get away until the nasty weather began to set in.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. GEO. TIERNEY.

On his opposition to the Bank Protecting Act.

*North Hampstead, Long Island,
1. July, 1813.*

SIR,

I ADDRESS you upon the subject of the debate on the thing called the *Bank Restriction Act*, passed in May last, and in which debate you took a part. I make use of your name upon this occasion for two reasons; *first*, that the Letter, which I am writing may, without much of circumlocution, have an appellation to distinguish it from other of my letters on the same subject; and, second, that I may directly, and, as it were, foot-to-foot, place myself, as to some of your opinions, in opposition to you, whom I regard as being by far the most able man now in what is called the House of Commons. The question, upon which we are at issue, involves considerations of most tremendous importance; and the decision of it must take place at no very distant day. Therefore, though my opinions respecting it stand already, over and over again, recorded in terms the most positive as to meaning and the most distinct as to

expression, I am anxious, from a sense of duty towards my country as well as from a love of honest fame, to put them once more into print. If events should prove that I am in error, as to this weighty matter, justice towards those whom I may have misled, demands that I put into their hands the power of detection: and, if events should prove that I am correct, justice towards myself demands that I put beyond all dispute my claim to that public confidence, which may serve as some compensation for all the persecution which I have suffered, chiefly for having promulgated these very opinions, which I am now about to re-assert.

During the far greater part of my political life, I have entertained, and have, with very little intermission, been endeavouring to produce in the minds of others, a hatred and a horror of the funding and paper-money system. In referring to its origin, I found it bottomed in a settled design to sap the foundations of the constitution of England; and, in tracing its progress, I found this detestable design had, by the intended means, and in the intended manner, been but too fully accomplished. But, it is not of the silent, the sapping, the corrupting effects of this bishop-begotten and hell-born system that I am now about to speak: nor is it of the misery, the starvation, the stripes, and the deadly wounds, which, with the aid of a standing army, it is, at this time, inflicting on the nation. It is of the effects which it has yet in reserve; and with regard to which effects, I perceive, that you hold opinions opposite to mine.

I will not waste my time, as you thought proper to waste yours, in an exposure of the flimsy, the shuffling, the false, the ridiculous pretexts, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer put forward as the grounds of his proposition for continuing the protecting act in force for another year. It can never be worth the ink that one writes with to be listened to by those, who could, for one single moment, listen to those pretexts as something worthy of attention. Your observations on the *future effects* of the

system, and your opinions as to the *practicability* and the *means* of preventing those effects: these constitute the only parts of the debate that merit the notice of any rational being.

It has always been an opinion, openly avowed by me, that the funding-system would be marked in its last stage, by a great national change; and, more recently, since it has been upheld as co-partner of the borough-system, and since such and so many acts of tyranny have been committed in the upholding of these systems, I have been of opinion, as I yet am, that the end of the funding will be the end of its atrocious associate; that they will die in each others arms amidst the shouting of the people; and this we may, I take it, call a great *convulsion*.

You are, I see, sir, also of opinion, that the thing will end in a great *convulsion*. "He, therefore, exhorted the House to show its *earnestness* upon this occasion. If it did not do so, he feared that the consequences would be *dreadful*; that a terrible *convulsion* would take place. This was, probably, the last struggle to guard against that *melancholy event*, and let each man, who felt for the country, have the satisfaction of thinking, that, whatever be the result, he had done his *duty*." These are the words of the close of your reply. Sufficiently impressive: sufficiently awful the warning. But of what *use* was the warning? What was it intended to produce? Much able statement in your speech; a great deal of well pointed reasoning. But, for *what*? To what *end*?

To put the matter into plain propositions, it stood thus: that the House ought to be in *earnest*; that, if they were not, the paper-money would produce dreadful consequences and a great convulsion; and that, in order to show their *earnestness*, they ought to appoint a committee to *inquire*, before they passed the bill.

Thus far I see my way clearly. It is plain, and I cannot err. A great mischief, a dreadful consequence, a convulsion, may, in some cases be prevented by stopping to *inquire* before we

proceed to action. But, was this one of these cases? Could any inquiry have tended to prevent that blowing-up, of which you expressed your dread? Was it possible; I will not say, *probable*; was it possible; was it within the compass of human skill or force, to make provision against that "*melancholy event*," which you anticipated with so much apparent sincerity and sorrow? You seem to have been of opinion, that it *was*; I am of opinion that it *was not*.

In order to enter fairly upon the discussion of this question, to wit, whether it was, or was not, *possible* to obtain by inquiry, any means of preventing a final blowing-up of the paper-system, I must look back at what you say, in your own speech, as to the topics and objects of inquiry. These I find stated in the following words: "There remained little for him to say, except on the subject of the *mischiefs which some persons apprehend* from the resumption of cash-payments by the Bank of England. To a *certain extent* he was willing to admit, that these apprehensions might, perhaps, be well-founded. He did not believe, however, that any *violent shock* could occur. He by no means supposed that the Bank would try to secure the continuance of the restriction by making the resumption of cash-payments as difficult and as dangerous as possible, and he was convinced, that if the Bank sincerely applied themselves gradually, and gently to prepare for that resumption, although, undoubtedly a great diminution must take place in the existing circulation, yet, that it would not be productive of any of those fatal consequences which it was the fashion to apprehend from it. If there were no other grounds for going into an inquiry, the expediency of trying if a committee of that House could not chalk out some course by which the Bank of England might resume their payments in cash without endangering the tranquillity and welfare of the community, would be one amply sufficient. (Hear, hear, hear)! Indeed, were we asked how such a committee as that for the appointment

of which he was about to move, could best employ themselves, he would say, in endeavouring to devise the means by which the cash payments by the Bank might be gradually brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, so as to facilitate those objects without risking any serious shock. This, he believed, might be done; but he also believed that it could be done only by a committee composed of intelligent individuals, who would calmly and dispassionately enter into the investigation of the subject, and collect all possible information upon it from those who were the most competent to the task of affording such information."

This then was to be the object of inquiry; the committee were to endeavour to devise the means by which the cash-payments by the Bank might be gradually brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, so as to facilitate those objects without risking any serious shock." Your opinion as to the probability of the committee's effecting this object are in the affirmative. You admit that, to a certain extent, there may be *mischiefs* attending the resuming of cash-payments; but you do not believe that any *violent shock* would occur. You believe, that if the Bank were to apply themselves sincerely to prepare, *gradually*, and *gently*, for the resumption, although a great diminution in the circulation would take place, yet that no *fatal consequences* would ensue.

This was your opinion, sir; and no wonder that it was *cheered* by the boroughmen, by whom you were surrounded. This opinion came too, so pat just after my dismal predictions and doctrines contained in that petition, which Lord Folkestone (for what reasons his lordship best knows) had refused to present, but which had not, for that refusal, been the less read. This opinion had an effect upon the boroughmen like that of ether or laudanum upon a losing gamester; or like that of Loader's dram upon old Mother Cole. And so you "went out of the House amidst the loudest cheers!" Thank you kindly,

Mr. Loader! Bless you, dear Mr. Loader!

I must be insincere myself, or I must treat you with sincerity; and yet if I do I am afraid I must offend you; for, it is quite impossible for me to consider you as having been sincere upon this occasion without considering you as extremely shallow with regard to a matter which you ought to have well understood, before you attempted to speak upon it in a public assembly; and particularly before you took upon you to be a leader in the discussion. As being the least offensive of the two, however, I will suppose you to have been sincere; and upon that supposition will proceed to give my reasons in opposition to this your consoling and comforting opinion; which opinion is, that means can be devised for enabling the Bank to pay in coin *without* producing any serious *mischief*, any *fatal consequences*, any *violent shock*.

As to *mischief* or *fatal consequences*, I may think so too. But then, what you may think *mischief* and *fatal consequences*, I may regard as *most happy events*. To get rid of all misunderstanding here I shall, as I fairly may, suppose you to mean, that the payment may take place *without a blowing-up of the paper, and the seat-selling systems*, and that paper-money and the debt and the dividends and army and all can go on as they now go on.

If sir, as a quieter to those persons who, you say, apprehend *mischief* from the resumption of cash-payments; and if, in answer to the *fashionable* opinions about *fatal consequences* to be apprehended from the same cause; if you, as might have been expected, had, in answer to these apprehensions, offered some *reasons*, instead of a naked opinion in the negative, you would have saved me a great deal of trouble. However, your opinion being wholly unsupported by any reasons does not prevent me from stating reasons in support of my opinion; and if my reasons be good your opinion must be erroneous.

Doubtless a Committee of the House of Commons, as it is called, would consist of some surprisingly ingenious

gentlemen, but though they would have been able to draw up, in a short time, a green-bag Report, there are certain things which they could not have done unless the House could have communicated to them a *real* instance of an hyperbolical *omnipotence*. And amongst the things which a committee could not have done one would have been, the preventing of the holders of notes from going to get cash for them, as soon as the Bank should begin to pay: yet, unless they could have done this it is pretty clear to me, that the payment would not have gone on for two days.

That the Bank cannot venture to pay *now* is certain. That fact must be taken as *admitted*; because, if it could venture to pay now, the bill would not have been passed; no, nor asked for. And why cannot it pay now? For the same reason that many other people cannot pay their bills; namely, because it has not money enough to pay with. There are two ways of enabling the Bank to pay: one, by *putting gold into its coffers*, and the other, by *reducing the quantity of paper now afloat*. As to the first, *how* is the Bank to get more gold into its coffers than it now has in those coffers, which I believe contain very little? I ask *how*, sir? What scheme could your committee have devised to effect this purpose? Suppose I have a parcel of notes out, payable on demand. I wish to take them up; I wish to be able to pay them. I have not money enough to take them up, what am I to do? Borrow some money. But I must give *more notes* for the money I borrow, or must sell my goods, or pawn them. The Bank has nothing to sell or to pawn; and therefore it must *buy gold with new issue of notes*. Now sir, if a man who had a hundred pounds out in notes were to buy a hundred pounds in gold with another hundred pounds in notes, and then pay off the first hundred with the gold, and if all his notes were payable on demand to bearer, would he not be sent to a mad-house without any further proof of his confirmed insanity?

A member of Parliament whom I once

(in the Bullion Committee time) endeavoured to prevail upon to go to the House, and blow all the absurdities into air, asked me, why goods might not be sent abroad and sold for gold, and the gold brought home to the Bank! My answer was, that there was no other objection to this scheme, than, that the owners of the goods would, in all probability, want to keep for their own use the gold that the goods would be sold for. His next question was, why the Government could not get gold from South America. To be sure, the mines were the places to look towards. But, then, it unluckily happened that the owners of the gold in South America would demand payment for the gold; and, what was more, so little bowels would they have for SAMUEL THORNTON and Company, that they would take care and have the goods before they would let the gold go; and, then, if the Bank sent the goods, they must issue paper to pay for the goods. By the help of a fleet and an army, the Bank might, indeed, rob the South American mine owners, to a trifling extent; or, the Bank-men might rob the houses and travellers at home, though, perhaps, they would find little except their own paper. This probably, the Bank-men would have some scruple to do, unless assured of an indemnity bill before hand; though they have done indeed, a great deal worse things.

Their case, then, as far as relates to augmenting the relative proportion of their gold, is desperate; for this last is the only possible way, in which they can effect that object. How should there be any other, except, to the asses ears of MIDAS, the boroughmongers and Bank-men could add his gold-creating touch? They have a parcel of paper, snips of paper, of no value, which they want to convert into pieces of precious metal. A few years ago there was a Norfolk farmer, who sold five hundred golden guineas to the guard of the Norwich coach, for twenty-seven shillings each. The dealer brought down the money the next trip, and asked for the guineas. The farmer had them in London, and up he went with the guard in order to de-

liver them. He had them quite safe in London, for they were in the Bank, where he had lodged them three years before, for the sake of secure keeping! He went to the Bank, but it was restrained from letting him have them out! What a swindle! And is it possible for it to be believed, that these people are never to be called to account! Are these the men, who sit in consultation to determine, who shall be hanged, and who shall not be hanged!

There are very few now-a-days, who are so foolish as this farmer was. When that prime tool of the boroughmongers, Gibbs, was calling for his fellow-labourers to make me a "blighted example," he did not, I dare say, imagine that he was doing that which would produce a new era, a totally new era, in political knowledge. "*Paper against Gold*" was amongst the fruits of that act of tyranny; and, sir, whatever the stupid herd, to whom you addressed yourself, may think, the people of England, the oppressed people of England, know all about the paper-money system, and about which, before the *Hall-Set* thought they had murdered me, the people in general knew no more than they knew of the feats of witches and wizzards. They did not know what a fundholder, a loan-jobber, or a director was. They knew nothing of the manner of making funds and debts; and, they, if possible, knew less than nothing about the manner in which they themselves were affected by this mystery of iniquity. Little did they, before this period, imagine that this system, of funding took from them four-pence, at least, in the price of every pot of beer: and, that it was in fact, this system, first proposed by BISHOP BURNET, which had, by degrees, stripped the artizan and the labourer of all those conveniences and those means of good living, which were enjoyed by their grand-fathers. The mass of the people knew, in short, nothing about the matter. But Gibbs and his set had tied me to the stake; and their malice and cruelty and insolence were destined to be the means of producing a new era in political knowledge. "*Paper against Gold*" will,

long and long after the bubble shall have bursted, and overwhelmed all those who now by various means, oppress the nation, live to bear testimony to my fortitude and perseverance, and to the infamy of my persecutors.

But, the good of the thing is, that, while *the people* read this little book, the borough-usurpers and their tools do not read it. So that these latter, to their nature and habit-engendered stupidity, add, in this case, a refusal to use the ordinary means of acquiring knowledge. The *Blanketteers*, who cannot have less than about twenty thousand copies of this little book amongst them, and who have seen all its principles established, and its predictions verified, to the very letter, by events; the *Blanketteers*, sir, if they happened to read the debate, on which I am commenting, would smile with scorn at those *cheers*, with which the ignorant crew honoured your comforting opinion. The *Blanketteers* would laugh at the idea of the Bank, *adding to its stock of gold*; they would laugh at the idea of the Bank, "*sending out gold and repurchasing it again*," as mentioned in another part of your speech; for, their little book has, long and long ago, taught them how futile, how childish, how contemptible, all such notions are.

I have said, that it is *impossible*, absolutely impossible, for the Bank to *add to its relative stock of gold*, except by direct robbery; that is to say, by a robbery committed in South America (not easy), or a robbery committed on the highway and in the houses at home; a dash at the gold baubles and silver spoons. I can see, I think, what is running in your head upon this subject. You seem to imagine, that, if the Bank were to issue a parcel of notes and to purchase gold with them, though they would thereby *add to the positive quantity of notes*, they would *diminish the relative quantity*; for that, the new notes would lodge gold equal to themselves in amount, which the old notes have not done. You will say, that if a man has a hundred one-pound notes out, and has only one guinea in his coffers,

and then put out another hundred notes and buy guineas with them, and put the guineas in his coffers, he will by this operation, have *added to his relative quantity of gold*.

This is all very true, only you are supposing what it is impossible to effect. But, let us see how an attempt in this way would work in practice. Supposing the Bank, or the borough-tyrants (for the paper is theirs) to have thirty millions of notes in circulation, and to have half a million of gold in their coffers. Well; they want to add to their gold; *why*? Because they want *to be able to pay in gold*. They, therefore, buy ten millions of gold; but, they do it with *with an additional issue of notes*; and, mind, this issue must exceed ten millions; because, the paper must be *below par*, else the Bank could not pay in gold, without any purchase of gold. Very well, then; the Bank has now ten and a half millions of gold in its coffers, and much more than forty millions of paper afloat.

You are aware, I suppose, that this new issue of paper would instantly send up prices to an enormous height; you are, I suppose, aware, that it would sink the value of the paper in the same proportion; if you are not aware of these things, the *Blanketteers* are. But, having this gold in its coffers, the Bank *will then begin to pay*. Indeed! If it does, I can assure it, that, I who hold twenty-one of its depreciated pound notes, will instantly go and get twenty of its guineas for them. Thus will every other note-holder act, to be sure; so that, in about two days all the gold will be drained out, and the quantity of paper left in circulation will be much greater than before the remedy was applied.

A worthy friend of mine, and one of the most pleasant, hearty, and able men I ever knew; the late Mr. BAYNESTOCK of Alton, used to say of the *Unitarians*, "I want to know what they *would be at*; they will believe, and will not believe; they will have a creed, and yet they will be infidels." Your financial faith, sir, appears to me to be of this description. You think this

paper-money a very *dangerous* thing; you think big with fatal consequences, shocks, and convulsions; and you think it *very easy*, perfectly easy, for the Bank to *pay out its gold*, and then *buy it back again*, only by experiencing *some loss*. If this be true, sir, what ground is there for alarm? If this be true, the borough-men may snore away the whole twenty-four, instead of twenty, hours of their time.

That the Bank is quite able to *pay its gold out*, and that it might effect the thing in a very short space of time, nobody, I believe will dispute; but, as to getting it *back again*, that would be a very different matter; for, as we have clearly seen, it must be effected by the means of new issues of paper; and, therefore, supposing the paying out not to cause a total blow-up at once, the Bank would, when the operation was over, only be just where it was before the operation began.

The "*some loss*," it is, however, that puzzles me the most. I must quote your words here; for, as I can hardly believe my own eyes, my friends, the Blanketteers, may well doubt of their correctness upon this occasion. "Let the Bank of England send out large quantities of gold from their coffers. That would alter the rate of exchange. The Bank would have no difficulty in purchasing gold to replenish their coffers, though certainly at *some loss*. But the question was which was best—that Great Britain should lose the character for good faith which she had hitherto maintained, or that the Bank should be obliged to disgorge a part of the enormous profits which it had made from the country at large. (Hear, hear). Was it more desirable that the public credit should be preserved, or that the Bank, having accumulated millions upon millions, without contributing in the smallest degree to the national expenditure, should be enabled to persevere in that system." (Hear, hear).

Yes, yes! the borough-men may cry, "*hear, hear, hear!*" But, sir, the Blanketteers know very well that all this affected reproach on the Bank is

mere words, and that the Bank is only one of the tools of the borough-men! Be you assured, that all, of the Blanketteer order, are quite proof against every attempt to impose on them by affected reproaches against "*the Bank*."

Aye, sir, "*Let the Bank send out large quantities of gold from their coffers*." They must get these quantities in first, to be sure; but, never mind that; let us, for argument's sake, suppose the large quantities to be there. Well; now the gold is sent out. *How* is the Old Lady to get it back? She is, it seems, to *purchase it back*. With what? With *what*? With *what*, I say! Answer me, or I die! With *what* is she to *purchase it back*? Why, with a *new batch of notes* to be sure; unless she go and plunder the gold and silversmiths' shops and rifle the butlers' pantries. In what other way is the Old Hag to *purchase it back*? A witch, indeed, she is, as far as tormenting and murdering goes; but, as to the turning of paper into gold, she is as harmless as the innocent in the cradle. It is all nonsense; it is all absurdity indescribable; for, what would be done *at home*, while the gold was travelling to and from the continent. But, never mind this; let us swallow this; she would, by the operation, supposing it to be as you say, gain nothing in the way of ability to pay.

But the "*loss*," the "*some loss*," that she would experience, what can that mean, I wonder! Pray, sir, what has the Old Lady to *lose*? Do you happen to know the precise, or probable place of deposit of any of her *valuables*? If you do, it would be but friendly dealing to apprise the Blanketteers of it; for they will, one of these days, be glad to possess information upon the subject. Do you allude to *her shop* or to the *houses and lands and chattels* of the directors and others of her company? These she might, indeed, lose, and, in the end, she probably will; but they would amount to little. Do you allude to the several millions of what is called *stocks*, or *funds*, or *per cents.*, of which she is the owner? Come, here we have, then, the Great Book before us, and here we find

her written down for, suppose, twenty millions. Now, then, what is your notion? That she can get people to come and purchase part of this stock *with gold at a loss* to her; that is to say, *below the current paper-price*? Why, sir, the very thought of such an operation would send down her paper fifty to the hundred; and, an attempt to put it in practice, would blow up the whole thing.

No: you mean none of these. Your meaning is, that she must give *more* for the gold in paper than the nominal value of the gold, if in coin; and a *higher price* than the real money-price, if in bullion: and this would be neither more nor less than making, upon the whole of the operation, an addition, relative as well as positive, to the quantity of her paper.

There remains, then, as I said before, no way, but that of direct robbery and plunder, to add to the relative quantity of her gold by the *bringing in of gold*. I have, indeed, overlooked one way of effecting this grand purpose, and which way I must notice before I proceed to the second part of my subject. It is this: the boroughmongers might give up their estates, equipages, and other moveables. These, which have chiefly been derived from public plunder, would bring *gold* quickly. This gold might go to the Bank, and it would, as Mr. CATLEY truly said, enable the Old Hag to face her creditors, pay off her notes, and to pass once more for an honest dame. Whether these conscientious borough-men, who cheered you, and who are so anxious to see guineas return, would voluntarily acquiesce in this measure, I leave for wiser men to decide; but that this, (with the exception of the robbery and burglary plan) is the only means by which gold can be brought into the Bank in such a way as to augment the relative proportion of gold now in the coffers of that prime instrument of the borough-tyranny, must, I think, now be clear as day-light to every one, who is not wilfully and obstinately blind.

We now come, sir, to the *other* mode of augmenting the relative quantity of

the cash of the Bank-men; namely, *the reducing of the quantity of their paper*. It is your opinion that this *can* be done in such a degree as to enable the Bank to resume cash payments, and that, too, without producing any shock; and that, by this means, the present system of sway in England may be carried on for ages yet to come.

In combatting this opinion I shall hardly be a cool, because I shall be a deeply interested, reasoner; for, if I could believe your opinion to be sound, I should be the most mortified and most miserable of human beings. It is a directly opposite opinion, firmly settled in my mind, that forms the sole foundation of my hope. Were it not for this hope, I should droop down into a state of despondency, and, without another effort, give up my unhappy country to the base, black-hearted, and bloody tyrants, by whom she is now robbed, scourged, and insulted.

But, whatever my wishes may be, they cannot impair my reasoning. I know well that, according to the creed of your hearers, truth is not truth, if it drop from my pen: nor is this of any importance in my eyes: with the rest of mankind the case is different. They will reject, or adopt, my opinions, as these are unsupported, or supported, by undoubted fact and conclusive argument. I do not, like you, sir, hold forth naked opinions to be adopted and acted upon by others: I tender not any thing of *mine* as the grounds of their belief; I tender reasoning, which is the common property of all mankind.

You say, sir, that you think, that "means may be found, by which cash-payments may be *gradually* and *gently* brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, *without risking any serious shock*." I say, that such means cannot be found.

You speak, indeed, with some *diffidence*; and, in a former sentence, you "are willing to admit, that *mischief*, to a *certain extent* might arise." This is an altered tone. The Bullion Committee did not talk in this way. They, and especially your wise patron, Lord GRENVILLE, boldly said, that the Bank

ought to be compelled to pay, on a day to be fixed, as the *only means* of restoring the currency of the country to a *healthy* state. A man must be a Lord to utter a phrase like this without being hooted.

But, to get rid of all loop-holes, I admit your qualifications to mean, that the greatest of all possible precautions must be taken, and that, even with all these precautions, some *mischiefs*, as you call them, *something of a shock*, must and will take place. Even this view, which is the most favourable that you, an orator of the borough-men, can take of the matter, would be quite sufficient to alarm every one but a besotted English fundholder.

I, however, set at nought all your qualifications; and, I say, that the thing must go on as it now is, that the Bank *never* can pay, or, that the whole system, borough-men and all, must be blown up. This is my opinion; and I now proceed to state the reasons upon which that opinion is founded.

The use of the words "*gradually*" and "*gently*" make a great drawl in the expression of your opinion. They discover great diffidence, great unfixedness, and, indeed, great *confusion*, in your mind. You advance like one of us Englishmen here, when, in the burning hot weather, we attempt to imitate the natives in going without shoes. You had been set up by your party to put to shame the poor stick that had been appointed to bring forward the bill. You were compelled to oppose him, and yet you have had too much regard for your own reputation to say point-blank, that the Bank could be enabled to pay. Hence all your qualifications and reservations. But you do not seem to have perceived, that these, in certain cases, lead to, instead of keeping clear of, embarrassment; and that, instead of saving a general position, they destroy it altogether.

Precisely thus has it happened here, and, if I have a mind to make short work of your opinion, I might stop at showing the complete absurdity of this notion of a *gradual* and *gentle* resumption of cash-payments; but, from this

temptation to laziness I abstain, and will, therefore, reserve the folly of this notion for exposure in a subsequent part of my letter.

To enable the Bank to pay in gold on demand, *the Old Lady must reduce the quantity of the floating paper*. Indeed you say, that a *great diminution* must take place in the currency of the country. Now, it is incontestibly true, that such diminution must create a great *lowering of prices*; and, it is not less true, that this lowering of prices must be *far greater in proportion* than the diminution in the quantity of paper-money. Because, the first effect of the lessening of the quantity of money afloat, is, to straighten and throw into discredit many persons who got along pretty well amidst the abundance of money. The operations of this class, therefore, do not remain in *degree*, but are *put an end to altogether*. When money is plenty, it moves *quicker* than when it is scarce. A horse will be sold and resold *ten times* amidst abundance of money, and, perhaps, not *twice* when money is scarce; and a shilling which passes twenty-one times a day from hand to hand, is just as efficient in its effect upon prices, on a national scale, as a guinea that changes possessor but once a day.

What, then, are the *unavoidable* consequences of a great diminution in the quantity of currency afloat, and of this lowering of prices? The ruin and misery of a great part of the people, and the actual starvation of many. These are the inevitable consequences of a lowering of prices by the means of *a change in the value of money*; and it is clearly seen, that such change must be effected by a diminution of its quantity.

Suppose me to be a haberdasher. I have my shop full of goods, as many as I shall sell in a year; I lay in my stock to-day; it amounts to three thousand pounds, two of which I have credit for; I deal in gloves only, and they are laid in by me at four shillings a pair; I begin selling, and six shillings a pair give me a good profit; but, at the end of a month, the Bank, the boroughmongers' Bank, goes to work to prepare for cash-

payments; it draws in a great deal of its paper; money becomes scarce; prices fall; I can sell my gloves at only two shillings a pair, and I am done for at a blow. Thus it must be with the farmer, the manufacturer, and with every person engaged in trade, no matter of what sort.

A man borrows a thousand pounds to-day upon a house worth two thousand; next month the Bank draws in its paper, and the house is not worth one thousand: he loses his house for ever.

Another dies to-day, leaves an estate to his son worth three thousand pounds, with legacies to be paid out of it to the amount of fifteen hundred. Before a sale of the estate takes place, the drawings in of the Bank have lowered the worth of the estate to one thousand. The legacies can be paid only in part, and the son is a beggar.

Wheat is fifteen shillings a bushel, and a man, calculating upon that price, rents a farm at a hundred a year. The drawings in of the Bank brings wheat down to five shillings a bushel. The man cannot pay his rent; his stock is seized and sold. He goes to jail and his family to the poor-house.

In the meanwhile, there is no money to pay the journeymen and labourers; employment cannot be had, and starvation follows. However, men do not, in very great numbers, starve to death without an effort to save life. Hence robberies and thefts, and, to prevent detection, come murders. This is the natural, this is the inevitable progress.

These would be the consequences if there were no taxes at all. What, then, must the consequences be in a country where the taxes amount to double the sum that the rent of all the houses, lands, mines, and canals amount to? And how is the army, and how is the interest of the borough debt to be paid if the wheat fall to five shillings a bushel? You know very well, sir, that they are now paid partly by *loans* in one shape or another. You know, that there is not so much raised as is wanted by *fifteen millions a year*. You know, that loans to this extent are annually made. You know, that these loans go

to augment the borough-debt, and the dividends, and that this requires an augmentation of the paper-money. How, then, are the dividends and the army to be paid, if prices be lowered to the standard of wheat at five shillings a bushel? If money enough cannot be raised now; if the borough-debt keeps on increasing *now*, what is it to do when this lowering of prices shall take place? And you complain of the amount of the debt; blame the poor stick for not making an effort to reduce it; and yet you would add to it by an attempt to make the Bank pay in coin! You would reduce it by *doubling its real amount*! Yes, by giving the fund-holder three bushels of wheat, where you now give him but one! The borough-tyrants are sadly pestered! Sadly bemired!

As I am not for arguing upon any *disputed* fact, I do not think it necessary to bind myself down to wheat at *five* shillings a bushel. I am decidedly of opinion, that the resumption of cash-payments would bring it down to three shillings a bushel, and then we should come to one of the sides of the favourite alternative of Mr. HUNT, who has, for ten years past, been giving as a toast, "Wheat at *three* shillings or at *thirty* shillings the bushel." This is much in little. It is not yet *treason*; but it is saying all in few words. It is a pithy prayer for the destruction of the borough-tyranny. Either side of the alternative would do the job; but I am always for the *three* shilling side, for then the howl begins with the yeomanry cavalry crew. The Bank, by its mere *attempt to prepare* for cash-payments, brought down the wheat to *seven* or *eight* shillings a bushel. It brought it down to this price from 15 shillings a bushel; and why are we to believe, that it would not have come down to three if cash-payments had really been begun?

The miseries of 1816 and 1817 are hardly forgotten yet; and the acts of the borough-tyrants *never* will be. The thing saved itself then partly by violence; but it could not have done that long, and therefore *out it tumbled its paper again*. Without *this*, dungeons and gags and gallowses and bayonets

would have been, in a very short time, of no avail. It is not the return of *prosperity* that you now behold, but the return of *paper*.

When the misery was at its height the borough-men put out their new gold and silver coin. The fools thought they were getting back to *the chink* of coin. But, compelled to slaughter a starving people, or to bring back the paper, they yielded, and brought the paper back; and instantly flew away all their gold and silver; and CASTLEBROUGH, during the debate, says, *that the new sovereigns were all melted down and sent out of the country!* The borough-tyrants have, in order to obtain a *respite*, put forth the paper again, and *you*, their orator, would have them, in order to *avoid a convulsion*, draw it in again!

In "*Paper against Gold*," Letter XXV., I had said that if the Bank attempted to draw in its paper universal ruin would ensue. Pray sir, read that Letter. Never mind its *cheapness*. The Blanketteers have all read it. Why should not you be as wise as they? If you had read it before you had made your speech, you would, I think, not have said what you did. I there *proved* that universal ruin *must* be the effect of such an attempt. The attempt was made and the ruin came!

But you wish the Bank to proceed *gradually* and *gently*. When a man has *means* that are dropping in *gradually*, he may pay *gradually*; but this is quite another case. The Bank has *now* all the means that it ever will have, or can have. If the paper be drawn in *gradually*, the approach of the misery and ruin and uproar will be gradual, that is all. The want of employment will come on *gradually* and *gently*, but it will *come*. The convulsion will be the *end* of the scene, but there will be a *convulsion*. The notion of the man who attempted, by slow, and very slow, very gentle, degrees, to teach his horse to live without food, was much about upon a level with this notion of your's. The man succeeded at last, but just at the moment the *horse died*. To draw in the paper-money without reducing the interest of the

borough-debt and all public pay and salaries, is to ruin all persons in trade and to starve the labouring classes; and what signifies it whether this ruin and starvation come all at once or by degrees?

But besides this argument founded on the nature of the case itself, we have before us one of experience. The Bank did proceed *gradually*, it did proceed *gently*. It began drawing in, in 1814; it kept on until 1816, about October. This was gently enough. The *nonsense* of those years will stand for ever recorded as the tip-toe nonsense of the world. The tradespeople called for cheap corn, the farmers and their greedy landlords for dear corn. The landlords would "*tell the House of it*, that they would!" And away they went to the "*omnipotent House*" to secure them a fair price for their corn. The House passed a Corn Bill "*to protect the farmer, that useful member of society.*" And corn grew *cheaper* and *cheaper*! I kept telling Mr. COKE and Mr. WESTERN, that they were upon a very wrong scent. I told them that *the Old Lady was at work*, and that no Corn Bills would protect them against *her* craft. The distresses kept on increasing; and in 1816 on came the wise landlords again with long strings of resolutions for *the relief of agriculture*. Nothing could open their eyes. Mr. HUNT told a set of these dolts at Bath, that there only wanted new packages of paper-money to make them all happy. They affected to laugh, talked a little of their nonsense, and parted as wise as they met. These were some of Sir Francis Burdett's "*gentlemen of the country.*"

The true history of all the miseries of 1815, 1816, and 1817, is this: When *peace* came, the shame, the disgrace, the infamy, and more than all these, the *danger* of not paying in gold, or at least not appearing to pay in gold, stared the administering tools of the borough-tyrants full in the face. An attempt to *appear* to pay could not be made without drawing in a great deal of the paper. These tools were too weak to perceive the full extent of the consequences of even such an attempt. They appear,

however, to have been afraid to make it. But there was I, baiting them weekly with charges of insolvency. Foretelling that they never would pay; foretelling that they would finally be the scorn of all the world; and in short, galling them in all sorts of ways; not forgetting to remind them that when their paper-money blew up we should have *our parliamentary reform*. To work they went therefore, drawing in their paper, and on came the ruin and misery; slowly, gradually, gently enough; but still it *came on*. I kept even-on, as the Yorkshiremen say, telling them that their scheme would not succeed, that they would never be able to pay, *that they must put out the paper again*. They, like fools as they were, *persevered*. We, as we had a right to do, pressed them *for reform*. We beset them with arguments and prayers. They threw off their mask, and drew their dagger!

But, while we gained the clear advantage of seeing them in their naked, odious, and detestable form, they gained nothing at all. They were, though well set out with dungeons and gibbets, compelled to *bring back the paper again*; and, to stand before the whole world, as they now do, irretrievable insolvents. The ruin and misery they produced by this vain attempt opened the people's ears to the various causes of their sufferings; they made men listen, who before turned a deaf ear; they were the cause of the spread of knowledge more extensive than any people ever before possessed. In the course of the struggle of the borough-men to save themselves, their various under-hand dealings, their spies, their mode of prosecution, the conduct of juries and judges, all become topics of minute discussion; and, in short, this struggle, has done a great deal in preparing the minds of the people for the grand struggle which is yet to come, and which, I trust, will terminate in a restoration of the rights of the King and the people.

If, sir, you want *more proof*, than has now been offered, to convince you, that the Bank *never* can pay, without pro-

ducing a convulsion in the country, I confess my inability to furnish it; and, therefore, I here close my arguments upon the subject.

But, then, there remains the question, *what is to become of the thing at last?* This is quite another matter; and I am as fully convinced as you appear to be, that the consequences will finally be "*fatal*;" in which conviction I am as happy as you seem to be miserable. You say, in one part of your speech, that you are "perfectly aware, that there are persons in the country, who are *alarmed* at the prospects of cash-payments. These persons applied *all sorts of horrors*; that *nobody will get his rents*, that the *funds will be at zero*, and that there will be a *general bankruptcy*. Oh, oh! They begin to see this, then, do they! Ah, ah! I am glad to find, that they are coming to my opinions at last! Very well, then, the thing is, I suppose, to *remain as it is?* Is that what they mean? If it be, they are deceived. It will not remain as it is long. The blowing-up will come, whether the Bank draw in its paper, or not. There are means, as I have already shown, of *putting the thing down*, of *abating the nuisance*; secure means too, neither troublesome nor expensive. I firmly believe, that these means will be adopted, *in less than a year*, though I have no sort of knowledge of any one who entertains, that I know of the intention. But, whether such means be, or be not adopted, the blow-up will come. The borough-men must go on *borrowing*, unless they instantly issue such quantities of paper as to make the guinea sell for thirty shillings. This borrowing must regularly add to the quantity of paper. This paper will, in spite of their teeth, come, at last, to an *open contest with gold*; *two prices* will show their faces, and then good-by Bankmen and boroughmongers! The taxes will be paid in the paper; the lawmen and spies and fundholders and bayonetmen, will be paid in taxes; and the butcher, baker, and brewer, will insist on having real money!

This will be the end, if the thing go

on in its present way. Your scheme would, probably, bring the thing to a close sooner; but, be the end when it will, or how it will, the prediction of PAINE will be verified: the borough-system will last as long as the paper-money system, and not one moment longer.

Precisely *how* the thing will terminate, whether it will die gradually down into the bottom of the socket, or go out at once by a puff, is a question that I do not pretend to be able to determine: it is sufficient for me to know, that the total extinguishment will come; and that it will bring with it the destruction of the borough-tyranny, of which it was the twin monster, and of which it has, from its birth to the present hour, been the principal support.

These monsters are now of a hundred and twenty-four years standing. The aristocracy having driven out James the Second, immediately set themselves to work to engross all the lawful powers of king and people. They instantly began the work of plunder, and, having tasted its sweets, they resolved never to give it up. They soon took from the people in one year, more of their property than King James had taken from them during his whole reign; and, in order to perpetuate their sway, they created, at the suggestion of Bishop Burnet, a debt, which should, for ever, have the effect of binding to them, be their deeds what they might, all the people who had money. In order to fortify themselves still more securely, they first made Parliaments *triennial*, which, by the constitution, were *annual*; and, not satisfied with this, they, under favour of a false alarm, made those triennial Parliaments *septennial*; while, at the same time, they set about a system of corruption even in the remnant of suffrage that was left, and which system has, at last, become so notorious, that when proof of seat-selling is tendered to them, they refuse to receive it, on the ground that it is too common to be criminal, and even that it is *necessary*, and *makes a part of the constitution in church and state*!

The effects of this system have well

corresponded with its character and motives. The nation has been plundered without sparing: king and people have alike been stripped of their rights, degraded and insulted without any measure. This tyranny, of which there is no parallel either in being or upon record, by its attempts to subject the people amongst whom I now am, to its plundering grasp, severed this fine country from the British dominions, and thereby created a formidable rival to England in naval power as well as in commerce. Fearing the effects of the rays of freedom, beginning to dart forth from France twenty-six years ago, it arrayed itself against the people of that country; and, by twenty-three years of violence and fraud, it, at last, succeeded in re-establishing despotism in that country and in every part of Europe where freedom had made her appearance. The twin monster, unable to repose in quiet, while there was a free man left upon the face of the earth, next bent all its force to destroy the government, the freedom and the happiness of America. The agents it employed in this enterprize were well worthy of their employer: fire and sword against the defenceless; treachery and plunder, but above all things, *plunder*; and, it was now for the first time, that officers of the English navy were seen writing to each other congratulatory letters upon having captured *tables* and *chests of drawers*. The brave yeomanry of America, however, so different from a base and servile boroughmonger tenantry, drove the spoilers from their shores in disgrace; and thus preserved an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and especially for those escaping from the fangs of the English minister, amongst whom is to be numbered him, who, in this address to you, is able, in safety, to describe the character and acts of that monster, and who has unspeakable delight in foreseeing and foretelling his doom.

There is, they say, a viper, the poison of which is of so malignant a nature, that the reptile will die, if it bite its own tail. It is a property of evil to destroy, in time, its own cause. The main lever of the borough-tyrants

has been their paper-money. By a series of frauds of unbounded magnitude, these tyrants have been able to bribe, and to set to butcher each other, a very considerable part of mankind. Under the pretext of warring for humanity, and freedom, and religion, where is the bayonet, where the dagger, where the stiletto, where the prostituted pen, that they have not employed in the cause of bloodshed, slavery, and real blasphemy? The grand instrument of mischief, however, is now turning its powers against themselves. The viper has, during its work of malice and of death, bitten its own tail; and the poison is hastening on to its heart.

War! The monster can make war no more. Its teeth are drawn completely out. The arming for war would send the paper down to five shillings in the pound; and a war of a year would send the debt up to two thousand millions! Not the people of England alone, but, the people of the whole world, are deeply interested in the fall of these tyrants, who employ the resources of matchless industry, skill, perseverance, and valour, favoured by the most happy local circumstances that Providence itself could combine; who employ all these, not to better the lot of mankind, not to assist feeble innocence against powerful guilt, not to enlighten the ignorant or to free the enslaved, not to promote peace and friendship amongst nations; but, to erect obstacles to harmonious intercourse, to create suspicions and feuds, to shut out light from the human mind, to back tyranny wherever to be found, and, in all parts of the world, to make human affairs uncertain, and human life a burden. Towards friends, allies, colonies, they have been firm or false, kind or cruel, alternately, at the calls of their own safety or interest. Towards enemies they have, from the same motives, been creeping or insolent, but always perfidious. This has been the great, unvarying characteristic of their policy and their actions. Those who spoke of us, formerly, might say that we were rude, proud, and arrogant; but, they could not say, that we were hypocritical, trea-

cherous, or unfeeling. The English nation, famed for its open, manly dealing, for its plain, blunt sincerity, and for its kindness and humanity, these tyrants have placed at the tip-top of the list of the crafty, the perfidious and the cruel, where it stands written in the blood of NEY and of thousands upon thousands of the victims of their relentless rapacity.

And, is this character *always* to belong to our nation! Is the name of England to have *for ever* this infamous pre-eminence! Sir, I am, at this moment, sitting beneath the deep shade of a walnut-tree, the thermometer at ninety-eight degrees, nearly naked, and sweat pouring down my breast; yet, the thought of heat ten million times as great as this, to be endured for ages, would not be to my mind half so horrible, as the thought of impunity to these base and savage tyrants. No: a day of *justice* is to come; a day of justice will come; and, the very act which you oppose, and with regard to which I have troubled you with my remarks, ought to satisfy the minds of the people, that that day is near at hand.

From your task, sir, you retired amidst the *cheers* of the boroughmongers; I shall be sufficiently gratified, if the Blanketteers will attentively read what I have written; and if they will constantly bear in mind, that EMPSON and DUDLEY were *legally and justly hanged*, though they truly pleaded *Acts of Indemnity*.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LORD GREY.

THE fallen Minister is going on to his home to enjoy the sight of the "boothies," the bare legs and feet, and the "burgoo;" that is to say, oatmeal not dressed, and stirred up in water with a stick; leaving behind him, good old patriot, his bill, kindly intended to make us poor wretches of the "sooth" live in the same manner. He has made

shift to muster up addresses at NEWCASTLE and MORPETH; and the radicals of NEWCASTLE refrained from coming forward to send him off with a flea in his ear; because, forsooth, he was a "*fallen man*." *Fallen* is he! His bishops, and his brace of naval officers are not fallen; nor does his being turned out of place at all change the nature of those who were put to death or transported under his special commissions. What! because he is turned out of place, we are to forget, are we, all about the Dorsetshire labourers, and every other sufferer? Far different shall be the farewell that I will stick on upon him, if I live till the next week, or the week after. I begged of him when he came into power, so to act, that he might not make the eleventh Prime Minister, whose turning out of place I should rejoice at. He does make that eleventh; and I shall pretty soon see the end of the round dozen.

(*From the Newcastle Chronicle*).

A little before one o'clock on Wednesday, Earl Grey arrived at Morpeth, where a great number of people were assembled to receive his lordship; and on his entering the room at the Queen's Head, in which the deputation were waiting, he was warmly greeted. Mr. Woodman, in an appropriate address, in which he referred to the period when his lordship made his celebrated speech in the Market-place, and complimented him upon his talents, consistency, and disinterestedness, presented the address, of which the following is a copy:—

"To the Right Hon. Charles, Earl Grey, Viscount Howick, Knight of the Garter.

"My Lord—We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the town of Morpeth and its vicinity, beg leave most respectfully to offer to your lordship our heartfelt thanks for the very eminent services which you rendered this country in the high station which you recently filled, with the confidence of our Sovereign, to the satisfaction of the people, and for the benefit of the kingdom. During your administration, my lord, the liber-

ties of the people have been strengthened, economy has been carried into every department of the state, and peace has been preserved at home and abroad. These we attribute to your experience as a senator and your talents as a statesman, but above all, to your undeviating integrity, consistency, and disinterestedness. It affords us the deepest regret that any circumstances should have occurred to call upon you to resign office, and to deprive us of the valued services of one in whom we placed entire confidence. We trust, however, that you may be blessed with health, and still be able as a Peer of this realm to give your advice and assistance in the Senate. Our most earnest and sincere wish now is, my lord, that you may long enjoy in the bosom of your family that retirement which, at an advanced period of an active and laborious life, must be so desirable."

[300 signatures were appended to the address].

The address having been read,

Earl GREY said—It has been my good fortune to receive similar proofs of the confidence of the people in many towns which I have passed through, but I can truly say from none have I received such sincere and heartfelt satisfaction as from that which has just been presented to me, in terms too flattering for my deserts. Mr. Woodman has feelingly referred to the period when I addressed you on my entrance into public life, from the market-place in this town; that is now 48 years ago. Soon after that period, in 1792, occurred those great events which have since divided public opinion, and although at that period I was the object of much odium and calumny, the support which I met with from this town I can never forget; and now, at the close of my public, at least of my official life, it is in no small degree gratifying to receive the approbation of the same persons. Although it is not necessary for me now to state them, the circumstances which occurred were such as to leave me no choice but to resign; yet even if they had not occurred, that period could not have been long delayed, for I have now reached

my 70th year. But, although my official life is closed, when any great question calls for it, I shall still be found in the place which has been assigned to me in the House of Peers, to assist in the public service in the best way which my humble abilities and decreasing strength will allow. I shall conclude by assuring you, that as I commenced my public life so I shall conclude it, by devoting myself to the interests of this town and county. Allow me, gentlemen, again to thank you for this address, and Mr. Woodman for the kind and flattering manner which he has used in presenting it.

Earl Grey, having taken wine with the gentlemen, left the town amidst loud cheers.

Earl Grey arrived at Alarwick on Wednesday afternoon. His lordship alighted at the White Swan Inn, where the address of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood was presented to him by John Carr, Esq., and a number of his political friends assembled on the occasion. The address was graciously received by his lordship, and was deeply gratifying to him, as expressive of the approbation of his friends and neighbours. His lordship appeared at the window, and was received with cheers. There was an anxious expectation that his lordship would address the people assembled, and his not doing so produced general disappointment. It is stated that his lordship was unable, from indisposition, to address the concourse assembled outside.

BROUGHAM.

From the time that this man first landed in London from the Bawick smack, to this very hour, I have been endeavouring, with very short intervals, to warn the nation and individuals against placing reliance upon him as a public man; and, at last, I have seen the whole body of public writers, and particularly those in that newspaper which has been most, and longest, op-

posed to me, join me in my dislike to this man. Whether the facts stated in the following article from the *Times* newspaper be strictly correct, I do not know. Some of them almost surpass belief. My readers, however, will form their own judgment in the case.

(From the *Times*, 23. August, 1834).

A correspondent assures us that the following tribute of unconscious veneration for this journal, of that fulness of involuntary terror, whose natural expression is the language of immeasurable hatred, has been sent by Lord Chancellor Brougham to the *Caledonian Mercury*. There is fustian in it, and vulgar fustian; such as befits a Bashaw with more tails than O'Connell, when he deigns to communicate with one, and that the most mangy tail, among them, This tail, which, like the oyster in *Mother Goose*, is made to vociferate for the one-shilling gallery, accuses us of being "extremely arrogant" for "wanting to be no less than Prime Minister of Britain." Is that, then, the highest point of human arrogance, "to want to be Prime Minister of Britain?" If so, Lord Brougham and Vaux is no doubt extremely modest. But if we have wanted to be Prime Minister, at least we have not been guilty of any fraudulent or base manoeuvres in the pursuit of that brilliant but elusive prize. We have not intrigued for it, nor lied for it, nor fawned, nor slandered, nor betrayed, nor undermined, nor sacrificed any man, neither the colleague who trusted, nor him who knowing us thoroughly despised us. If we have "sought to direct the royal councils" in the formation of a cabinet, we have not played contemptible and mountebank tricks to persuade people that we *did* direct those councils, and that we were actually (when we were not) authorized to share with Lord Melbourne in the trust of submitting the choice of a cabinet to his Majesty. We did not *pretend* to be honoured with the King's commands, nor with the royal confidence, while we knew that the King would sooner behold a mad dog enter his Council Cham-

ber than see us approach within five miles of Windsor. We never gave out to servants and hangers-on that we were going to Windsor, when we ordered a post-chaise to take us no further than Putney-bridge. If we were conscious of being called by the whole world the cracked and crazy weathercock of the House of Lords, we should not dare to whisper about "weathercock evolutions," or "eccentric career," or "capricious and erratic exhibitions," or "reckless and inconsiderate pilots." But enough. The *Times* for fifteen years praised, supported, or, if you will, patronized his lordship. So long as we supposed Lord Brougham to be actuated by honourable and elevated motives, guided by fixed and enlightened principles, aspiring to power through none but direct and manly means, disposed to use it virtuously, and capable of using it wisely, we did by every possible exertion, through evil report and good, zealously, boldly, indefatigably, nay, if we had said affectionately, it would be no more than the fact, strive to maintain and extend the influence of Lord Brougham throughout all classes of society; we supported the man whom we believed to be true, upright, whatever we might sometimes have thought of his discretion. But what would good men think of us if, discovering the same person to be no better than a miserable trickster, whom none could rely upon without paying dear for their simplicity, we changed our course, and sought, by exposing his (to speak mildly) errors, to save others from being misled, as we had been, and the country from any further risk of suffering confidence misplaced? We receive letters upon this subject, and thus reply to them, though scorning the meanness of their anonymous impudence. We said yesterday, and we now repeat it, that Lord Brougham's correspondence with Lord Wellesley, behind Lord Grey's back, and without his knowledge, was the actual cause of the noble Earl's fall as a Minister. What was it that produced the alteration in the Lord Lieutenant's language? What induced him to give up his demand of the anti-seditious clauses in the Coercion Bill?

What but the representations, the fictive and unwarranted representations, of the Chancellor? And we refer to Lord Grey's valedictory speech for confirmation, were it necessary, of what we have here restated, viz. that Lord Brougham politically slew his chief.

There is, however, no occasion to proceed further with these topics. The cause of our changed language must be looked for in Lord Brougham's own unworthiness, not in ours—in Lord Brougham's inconsistency, not in ours. He turned out a different person from that which we had imagined him, and our duty forbade us to indulge a personal predilection in defiance of the clearest sense of right. We withdrew our friendship on finding it bestowed unworthily. But that of Lord Brougham is, we suspect, less liable to be diverted on such considerations from some of its present objects.

(From the *Caledonian Mercury*).

"The *Times* is not quite so mighty as it supposes. Whatever weathercock-evolutions it may choose to perform; however it may oscillate and vary its phases; now refuting to-day what it indoctrinated yesterday, we may take leave to apprise our contemporary, leading journal of Europe as it is, that its eccentric career will not be followed or admired by the thinking and intelligent British public, who dislike and repudiate such vacillation as it has displayed. The *Times* is extremely arrogant, it wants to be no less than Prime Minister of Britain. If the Ministry does not approve and adopt every crude suggestion which it pleases to throw out for their guidance, then it takes the pet, and from being a staunch adherent, immediately unfurls the standard of hostility. The conductors of the *Times* have laid it down as a first principle of state, 'that no Ministry can exist under the blighting influence of their opposition;' nay, they would usurp the royal prerogative itself, and arrogate the selection of the members of the Administration. We shrewdly suspect, however, that the *Times* miscalculates its strength, and mightily overrates its influence. It is powerful

only when it echoes the voice of the nation; when it thunders forth its own isolated and unfounded dogmas, as Lord Brougham said of the 'Oxford festivities,' we may predicate of the *Times* that it is infinitely harmless. Let such capricious and erratic exhibitions continue, and ere long the leading journal will discover that it has been steering a wrong course, and that the public will refuse to be guided by, or to patronize such a reckless and inconsiderate pilot. * * * It has, no doubt, lately chopped about, and set itself to give its uncertain support to the Melbourne Ministry. But the teeth of this destroyer of things and Ministers is dulled by age; its ancient influence has already crumbled into ruin, and the *good old Times* will be found, like its *forefathers*, to have passed, ere now, irrevocably away."

A FORTNIGHT ago, LETTER 1, to Lord RADNOR, on the new POOR-LAWS was published, from the *great* sale of which, it may be fairly inferred, that the people have made the subject their own.

LETTER 2, to the *same* nobleman, on the *same* subject, may now be had at 11, BOLT-COURT, and of all Booksellers. Already, here is abundant proof, from the *great* demand, that there is a determination on the part of those interested to understand this matter *well*; and, understand it they *will*, if they *only* read.—A THIRD LETTER will be published next Week.—Price 2d. each.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 8s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms

near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMSTRONG, J. T., St. Martin's-lane, Leicester-square, oilman.

BELL, J., Norton-falgate, Shoreditch, linen-draper.

EWING, W. R., and H. Brettargh, Liverpool, ship-chandlers.

FANSHAWE, H. R., sen., Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, silk-throwster.
FRANKLAND, C., sen., Scotton, Lincolnshire, maltster.
KESTERTON, J., Camberwell, coach-builder.
PARKER, W., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, money-scrivener.
PHELPS, J., and R. Appleton, Crosby-row, Walworth, linen-draper.
POSTLE, W., Worstead, Norfolk, corn-merchant.
STRATTON, A., and J. H. Secretan, Cheap-side, factors.
WALTHER, J., Liverpool, linen-draper.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

INSOLVENTS.

BARRETT, T., Stamford, Lincolnshire, grocer.
BONNAFFEE, F., St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, merchant.
POWELL, W. E. and J. Powell, Oxford-st. linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLPORT, J., Birmingham, provision-dealer.
BRINDLEY, W., Alstonfield, Staffordshire, cheese-factor.
GREW, S., Birmingham, brush-maker.
HAYWOOD, G., Birmingham, wine-merchant.
SMITH, T., Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, hatter.
SOULSBY, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, tailor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

LANGLANDS, M., Glasgow, merchant.
M'MILLAN, A., Parklee, Lanark, farmer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 25.—We have been since Friday liberally supplied with Wheat, particularly from Essex and Suffolk, and also from Kent. The same disparity appears in the quality of the new samples which we have before remarked. At the opening of the trade, prime selected parcels of old white Wheat realized Monday's quotations, but as the day advanced, and millers evincing little disposition to purchase, the market became depressed, old Wheats being noted 1s. to 2s., and new 2s. to 3s. cheaper than this day week, and only a limited clearance effected at this decline. A partial inquiry existed for bonded Wheat, chiefly Kubanka, at low prices for export, but no speculative interest appeared in favour of the article.

The supply of old Barley continued extremely limited, and previous rates fully maintained. The few new samples of malting quality which appeared were thin and dis-

coloured, and obtained 32s. to 34s. One or two parcels of Chevalier were shown, for which 40s. was demanded. Bonded qualities remain nominally at 14s. to 16s.

Malt was dull and prices unaltered.

The show of Oats was small, but dealers and consumers still holding off from purchasing, in anticipation of better supplies, caused the trade to rule dull at last Monday's currency. Some new samples of Oats were offering from Essex, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, &c., which exhibited much variety of quality, some being heavy, but out of condition, others light and weathered, and though the quantity was too small to form any general opinion, yet the appearance did not indicate very favourably for the new crop from these districts. Bonded qualities met with little attention, and prices remained nominally the same.

Beans were saleable at last week's prices, and the new qualities come to hand in excellent condition, and approached very nearly the currency of old samples. Ticks obtained 36s.

New White Peas arriving more freely, with the foreign qualities pressing on the market, renders the trade extremely heavy, and must be noted 1s. to 2s. lower. In feeding descriptions we did not remark any alteration.

The Flour trade was languid at last week's decline in price:—Best Town-made, 42s. to 45s.; First, 35s. to 37s.; extra, 38s.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
White	50s. to 54s.
Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
West Country red	40s. to 46s.
White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	38s. to 42s.
White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
Irish red	36s. to 40s.
White, ditto	40s. to 44s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	40s. to 42s.
Distilling	30s. to 33s.
Grinding	28s. to 31s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
Ware	58s. to 64s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 40s.
Maple	38s. to 42s.
White Boilers	36s. to 44s.
Beans, Small	36s. to 40s.
Harrow	34s. to 37s.
Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
Short, small	22s. to 25s.
Poland	22s. to 25s.
Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Berwick	24s. to 26s.
Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 23s.

— — — Potato	23s. to 24s.
— — — Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— — — Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— — — York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
— — — Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— — — Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— — — Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— — — Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, August 25.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was good; its supply of Porkers limited. Trade was, with prime small Beef, Mutton, and Lamb, somewhat brisk, with the middling and inferior kinds, as also Veal and Pork dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a fourth of the beasts were Short-horns, the remainder three-fourths, about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Towns-end Cows, Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were New Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; about a fourth South Downs, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets, and Somersetts, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About two-thirds of the Lambs—the whole supply of which was supposed to be about 5,200, were new Leicesters of various crosses; the remainder, South Downs, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

About 2,000 of the beasts, a full third of which were Short-horns, the remainder, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts: about 180, chiefly Scots and Devons, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 80, for the most part horned Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly runts and Devons, with a few Staffords and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 40, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Sussex and Irish beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and most of the remainder, including the Towns-end Cows, from the marshes &c., near London.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. }	90 $\frac{3}{4}$ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ 89 $\frac{1}{4}$

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Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

**JOURNAL
OF
A TOUR IN ITALY,**

AND ALSO IN PART OF
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

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MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

CURE OF A MONSTROUS SWELLING OF THE HEAD, SAID TO BE THE EFFECT OF POISON.

TO MESSRS. MORISON AND MOAT.

GENTLEMEN,—At a period like the present, when the most calumnious abuses are circulating against yourselves and your invaluable medicines, I think it would be base ingratitude on my part as an individual (having received so much benefit from Morison's Pills) to be silent at this important crisis. My case was as follows:—In 1831, about the month of August, I was taken with a most violent

swelling, with tightness at the chest. Being from home, I called at the first surgeon's within my reach; I was told I had been poisoned by eating cucumber. I received some medicine, and thought myself well. I had many similar attacks between this and 1832. It then became so alarming, I had the advice of an eminent physician; after much ado about regimen, &c. (which would be too tedious to mention), he prescribed for me. But alas! for me, with thousands of my fellow-sufferers, in a short time I became worse than before. I was brought to the verge of despair, as my case grew most desperate, my head and face swelling to a most awful size; my body all over as if stung with wasps or bees; the utmost difficulty in breathing; frightened with fears of suffocation. Any person not witnessing the process of swelling, would have thought me the frightfullest monster in the world. Sometimes this state would come on in ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. I used to send for a surgeon on these occasions, who bled me more than once, and left me with this consolation, that I could not have many more attacks, as they became so frequent and violent as shortly must terminate my existence. About this time I happened to be in company with your excellent agent, Mr. Haydon. Mentioning my case to him, as I then thought a hopeless one, he strongly recommended me to try Mr. Morison's Pills. In a few days I was taken as usual; I sent for Mr. Haydon; he came and found me in the state before described. Administering fifty or sixty No. 2 pills, in a bruised state, I had instant relief. I pursued a course of the medicines for thirteen weeks; during this time I had several attacks, but by powerful doses of No. 2, I always found relief. I must mention before I conclude, I used to be taken sometimes at a fortnight, sometimes a week, which, through bleeding, &c., reduced me to extreme weakness, and my sufferings I leave any one to judge of. I am now, through the blessing of God upon your pills, as strong as I ever was; I can eat any thing, and labour as hard as any man, and stand as much fatigue. I have heard it asserted Morison's Pills destroy the digestive organs; I can assure any one I have taken them in all quantities, from one to a hundred pills at a dose; my digestion is better than before I took any, and as strong as any person's. That you may long live to confer such blessings upon mankind, gentlemen, is the sincere prayer and wish of your humble servant, and debtor for health,

THOMAS SORRELL.

P.S. It is now five months since I had an attack, the longest time I have gone free this year and a half, from which I conclude my complaint is extirpated.

T. S.

40, Brown's-lane, Spitalfields,
London, Dec. 26, 1833.

Hamburgh, July, 1834.

H EINE BROTHERS, in Hamburgh, Contractors for the Great Lottery, published and drawn by authority of the Government, and under guarantee of the Honourable Board of Treasury of Hamburgh, beg to inform, that the 64th Lottery of 12,000 Tickets will be drawn on the 1. October next, and Tickets are now selling at 113 Marks Banco, or 8l. 10s. sterling. The Prizes are:—150,000, 60,000, 30,000, 25,000, 20,000, 15,000, 10,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 14 per cent., and four of 6,000, eight of 3,000, fifteen of 2,000, twenty-five of 1,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 10 per cent., besides 1171 minor Prizes of various amounts, the smallest of which, after the deductions, leaves a net provenue of 113 Marks Banco, or 8l. 10s. sterling. 2,970 Tickets gain two Free Tickets each, and 7,770 Tickets only get nothing. Those desirous to purchase are requested to direct for full Schemes with all the particulars and for Tickets to the above-named Contractors, Heine Brothers, in Hamburgh, who have no objection to receive payment for the cost of 8l. 10s. sterling per Ticket in Bank of England, Scotland, or Ireland Notes. It is recommended to address them by one of the first mails, as the Cost of the Tickets will rise very soon.

TO MALTSTERS, CORN-DEALERS,
BREWERS, FARMERS, AND EMI-
GRANTS.

ZACHARIAH PARKES (formerly of 279, High Holborn, London), and his Brother RICHARD, who have succeeded their late father in his very old-established business, beg to assure those who may favour them with orders for Steel Hand-Mills, that they may rely on having them of excellent quality. Any of the Mills enumerated below may be had through respectable ironmongers any where in the United Kingdom.

ZACHARIAH and RICHARD PARKES,
Mill-makers,
18, Digbeth-street, Birmingham.

Malt Mills, Bean Mills, Kibbling Mills for breaking Oats, Barley, and Beans for Cattle, and for grinding Malt occasionally. Wheat Mills and Flour-dressing Machines, very useful things, more especially in a New Settlement, where, in fact, they are almost indispensable. Also Mills for grinding Coffee, Cocoa, Pepper, Spices and Drugs, Grocers' Sugar Mills, Indian Corn Mills for exportation, and Mills to grind Cobbett's Corn into fine Meal for home use.

N. B. All warranted.

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